7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

252 256 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *saḥa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays 256 427 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do [432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) [804] per *raṭl* (the *raṭl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

258 [471] The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

258 402 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Waaṭiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. [404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

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the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINES

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The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Munṣif was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Taqla, in Shiykhan, and Mar Maama are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, as far as we know, as that in Hawran where the Munṣifiin claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism.

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Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 523). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 53 (Bliss, 1912, p. 41). The Ghassanid tribe of Syria, from which the Munṣifiin assume descent, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1947, p. 78). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 523). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusion as to when and how the ancestors of the Munṣifiin became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, *is* revealed: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is *not* a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hourani, 1946, p. 124). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Bliss, 1912, p. 13).

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Munṣif belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Bliss (1912, p. 44) and Zankov (1929, p. 19) emphasize the point

382 pipeline. Initial yearly capacity will be 300,000 tons, to be raised to 450,000 by 1956; by that date, total investment in the refinery will be $8 million. Most of the output will be fuel for bunkering, but the lighter products will be available for domestic consumption, meeting all the country's needs for major oil products. 1/

377 Output of electricity has also expanded, from 57 million kilowatt-hours in 1945 to 104 million in 1949, 147 million in 1952 and 164 million in 1953; of the last figure, 63 million kilowatt-hours were produced by thermal generators and 101 million by hydroelectric generators.

331 Construction has been maintained at a high level. Authorized construction in Beirut increased from 107,000 square metres of floor space in 1945 to 258,000 in 1948, 325,000 in 1952, 516,000 in 1953 and 167,000 during the first half of 1954. It is estimated that gross expenditure on construction was LL 61 million in 1948, LL 73 million in 1949 and LL 99 million in 1950. 2/ These figures represent some 7 to 10 per cent of the gross national product. Construction represents a large fraction, probably over half, of gross investment in Lebanon and absorbs a large proportion of small savings.

339 The building materials industries have expanded to meet construction needs.
323 Owing to expansion of capacity in 1947, output of cement rose from 148,000 tons in 1945 to 209,000 in 1948, 280,000 in 1952, 314,000 in 1953 and 141,000 in the first half of 1954. In recent years, exports have ranged between 20,000 and 60,000 tons. A new plant is under construction. Other industries, such as tile making and glass, have also expanded; output of glassware in 1952 reached 1,300 tons. Various cement products industries have been developed.

258 Food processing represents the most important group of industries, as regards capital employment and value of output (see table 45). Among the principal branches are sugar refining, where output rose from a negligible amount to 6,000 tons in 1952 and 14,000 in 1953 and where capacity is being expanded; vegetable oils, where output has risen from 900 in 1945 to 5,600 in 1952; biscuits, where output rose from 300 tons in 1945 to 1,200 in 1952; dough products, which increased from 300 tons to 2,400; chocolate, jam and various sweet-meats, with a combined output of 4,700 tons in 1953; beer, whose output declined from its war-time peak to 2 million litres in 1953; wine, arag and other alcoholic drinks, whose output has risen slightly in the post-war years, to 2.2 million litres in 1953; and soft drinks, whose output has increased more than twentyfold, to 9.5 million litres in 1953. 3/ All these industries, except sugar, provide a small export surplus and all are operating well below capacity.

288 The textile industries have been facing difficulties. Silk reeling has declined into a minor occupation, but silk weaving has developed, output rising from 26 tons in 1945 to 320 in 1952; this amount represents only one sixth of Lebanon's consumption. Output of woollen cloth has failed to exceed 150 tons,

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1/ Oil and Gas Journal, 7 March 1955.

2/ Albert Y. Badre and Agopig G. Altounian, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 2: "Income Arising in the Construction Sector" (Beirut, November 1951).

3/ Figures from Le Commerce du Levant, 3 July 1954, special issue on industry.

[Text continues on P. 161]